

J. M. Albin-Nasr: <i>A History of the Maghrib</i> .....	1172
F. J. Barnett and others (Editors): <i>History and Structure of French</i> .....	1164
J. H. Barnsley: <i>The Social Reality of Ethics</i> .....	1147
M. Barone, G. Ufusa and D. Matthews: <i>The Almanac of American Politics</i> ..	1176
R. E. Batchelor: <i>Unmanned Novelists</i> ..	1167
M. Battilori and V. M. Anselmo (Editors): <i>Arta Vidal i Barroquer</i> .....	1171
J. Bernard: <i>Le secrétaire d'état et le conseil espagnol des Indes</i> .....	1171
R. Berry: <i>The Art of John Webster</i> .....	1162
P. Bigongiari: <i>Antimateria</i> .....	1166
W. Blake: <i>The Book of Thel</i> .....	1143
J. Bogen: <i>Wittgenstein's Philosophy of Language</i> .....	1153
J.-L. Bory: <i>La Révolution de Juillet</i> ..	1149
E. G. Bowen: <i>Britain and the Western Seaways</i> .....	1168
D. G. Boyce: <i>Englishmen and Irish Troubles</i> .....	1148
B. Brecht: <i>Über Realismus</i> .....	1169
I. Brown: <i>A Charm of Names</i> .....	1164
G. Buchanan: <i>Minute-Book of a City</i> ..	1146
G. L. Bursill-Hall: <i>Speculative Grammars of the Middle Ages</i> .....	1164
I. Bushby: <i>Gunter's Moon</i> .....	1176
J. Cabanis: <i>Charles X</i> .....	1149
Cami: <i>Les exploits galants du baron de Crac</i> .....	1161
J. Charlot (Editor): <i>Les Français et de Gaulle</i> .....	1134
C. M. Crow: <i>Paul Valéry</i> .....	1143
R. Douglas: <i>Working with R.Y.W.</i> .....	1163
G. Elliot: <i>Twentieth Century Book of the Dead</i> .....	1157
A. Fubre-Luce: <i>L'Annuaire</i> .....	1134
Famous Railway Photographers: H. C. Casselley .....	1176
First Grammatical Treatise .....	1164
A. K. Forcione: <i>Cervantes, Aristotle and the "Persiles"</i> .....	1167
M. Frisch: <i>Tagebuch 1966-1971</i> .....	1144
H. Gallas: <i>Marxistische Literaturtheorie</i> ..	1169
F. H. Garner (Editor): <i>Modern British Farming Systems</i> .....	1176
A. Gaudin: <i>Allat et Fassi on l'histoire de l'Algerie</i> .....	1172
R. J. Gemmett (Editor): <i>Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons Vol 3</i> ..	1175
K. Gershon: <i>Legacies &amp; Encounters</i> .....	1146
G. S. Ghurye: <i>Two Brahminical Institutions</i> .....	1176
N. Gondall: <i>Ecumenical Progress</i> .....	1173

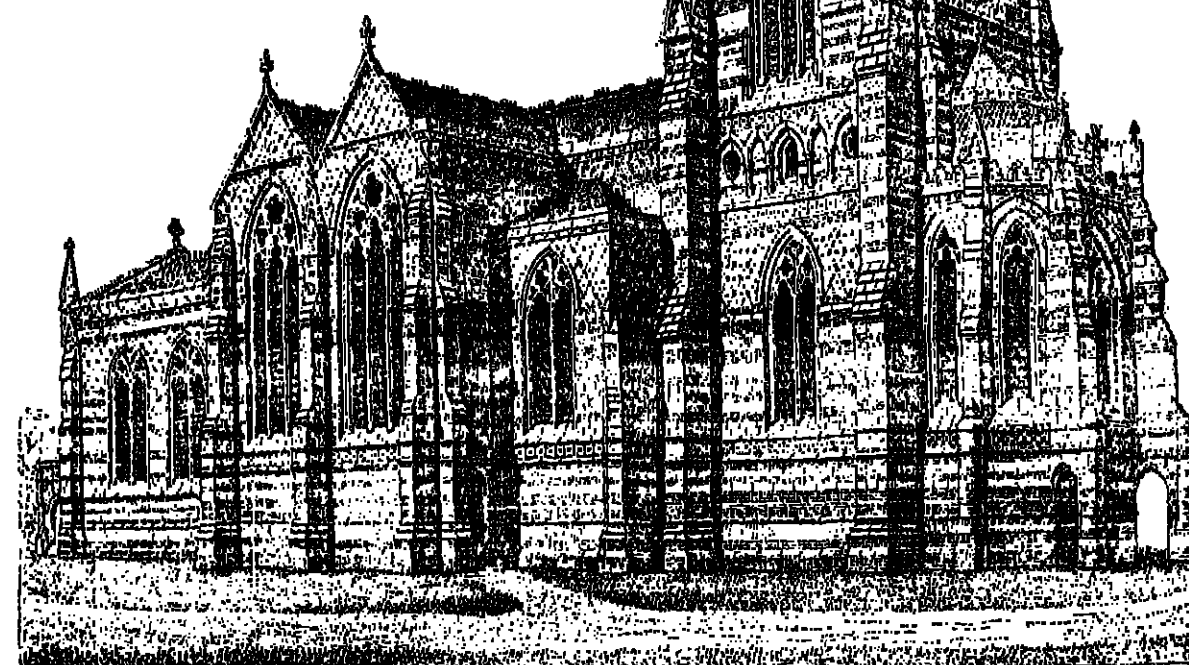
W. Graham: <i>The Spanish Armadas</i> .....	1171
P. M. S. Hacker: <i>Insight and Illusion</i> ..	1153
J. Hampden (Editor): <i>Francis Drake, Privateer</i> .....	1171
A. Hattley: <i>Gaullism</i> .....	1134
D. Hickey and G. Smith: <i>A Pale Shade of Green</i> .....	1148
P. Hlovyde: <i>Indian Music</i> .....	1163
J. Hopkins: <i>Elvis</i> .....	1163
J. Humbert-Droz: <i>Die ans de l'ère anti-fasciste</i> .....	1158
Irish Literary Portraits .....	1148
P. Jones: <i>The Peace &amp; the Book</i> .....	1146
C.-A. Julien: <i>L'Afrique du Nord en marche</i> .....	1172
L. Kavalier: <i>Freezing Point</i> .....	1136
P. M. Kean: <i>Chambers and the Making of English Poetry</i> .....	1152
L. de Libero: <i>Di brava in brava</i> .....	1160
M. V. Lloza: <i>García Márquez: Historia de un delirio. Historia secreta de una novela</i> .....	1140
E. Loch: <i>Conversations with the Be-whiffled</i> .....	1170
G. Lukács: <i>Essays in Realism</i> .....	1169
P. Luke: <i>Sisyphus and Reilly</i> .....	1133
E. Lund, M. Pihl and J. Sjö: <i>A History of European Ideas</i> .....	1137
J. Macquarrie: <i>Paths in Spirituality</i> ..	1173
G. Majorino: <i>Equilibrio in Pazzi</i> .....	1166
J. Mauriac: <i>Mort du Général de Gaulle</i> ..	1134
J. Merrill: <i>Two Poems</i> .....	1146
R. Millar: <i>The Piltdown Men</i> .....	1136
F. Milton: <i>Sex and a Pastor</i> .....	1173
C. Morazé: <i>Le Général de Gaulle et la République</i> .....	1134
D. Mouton (Editor): <i>Entretiens sur Paul Valéry</i> .....	1143
M. Muggeridge: <i>Chronicles of Wasted Time</i> .....	1133
J. B. Priestley: <i>Over the Long High Wall</i> ..	1147
S. Purcell: <i>The Holly Queen</i> .....	1146
F. J. Raddatz (Editor): <i>Maximus and Literatur</i> .....	1169
E. Sanguinetti: <i>Warrior</i> .....	1166
J.-P. Sarrailh: <i>L'Œuvre de la famille Vol 3</i> ..	1155
J. Sillkin: <i>Out of Battle</i> .....	1131
D. P. Silverman: <i>Reflexion Union</i> .....	1171
H. K. Slaughter: <i>George Fitzmaurice and his Enchanted Land</i> .....	1176
I. C. Smith: <i>Love Poems &amp; Heresies</i> .....	1146
L. Stegmüller (Editor): <i>Flaubert in Exile</i> .....	1156
M. H. Stillewell: <i>The Beginning of the World of Books 1450-1470</i> .....	1173

A. Stokes: <i>The Image in Form</i> .....	1153
L. Stone: <i>The Causes of the English Revolution 1529-1642</i> .....	1171
I. Svoboda: <i>Cestami Zivota</i> .....	1134
Thomas of Erfurt: <i>Grammatica Speculativa</i> .....	1148
The Poems of Tibullus .....	1163
J.-R. Tournoux: <i>Janus du République Gaullienne</i> .....	1134
P. Vinson-Ponté: <i>Histoire de la République Gaullienne</i> .....	1134
K. Ward: <i>The Development of Kant's View of Ethics</i> .....	1146
W. Watson: <i>Cultural Frontiers in Ancient East Asia</i> .....	1172
D. Weissbart: <i>In an Emergency</i> .....	1136
F. M. Wellings: <i>A History of Caring Cricketers: Middlesex</i> .....	1133
A. S. P. Woodhouse and D. Bob: <i>A Fairer Commentary on the Poems of John Milton Vol 2</i> .....	1140
A. Wright: <i>Blake's Job</i> .....	1146
R. Xirau: <i>Ottavio Paz: el sentido de la palabra</i> .....	1146
P. Zumbor: <i>Essai de poétique médiévale</i> .....	1146

FICTION

N. Balestrini: <i>Vogliamo tutto</i> .....	1137
G. Bani: <i>Running Sappho</i> .....	1173
K. Benton: <i>Spy in Chancery</i> .....	1166
T. Bernhard: <i>Der Italiener, Midland</i> ..	1134
S. Bish: <i>Gehen</i> .....	1146
H. Buckmaster: <i>The Walking Trip</i> .....	1136
B. Gay-Lussac: <i>Dialogue avec le ombre</i> .....	1134
W. Haggard: <i>The Protector</i> .....	1143
K. Hanks: <i>Falk</i> .....	1133
E. Hargreaves: <i>The Fair Green Way</i> .....	1133
L. P. Hartley: <i>The Collection</i> .....	1147
F. Ielinek: <i>Michael</i> .....	1146
G. G. Maquere: <i>La increíble y su historia de la novela Exótica y su abuela desolada</i> .....	1169
I. Mores: <i>Un d'été</i> .....	1166
M. Mooncock: <i>Breakfast in the Rain</i> ..	1155
The English Avonist .....	1131
R. Pinget: <i>The Libera me Damin</i> .....	1171
H. C. Rae: <i>The Shooting Gallery</i> .....	1176
G. Simonon: <i>Maigret and the Fin</i> .....	1146
L. Stora: <i>A Terminus Place</i> .....	1146
J. Synovos: <i>The Playoffs and the Game</i> ..	1156
J. Wainwright: <i>Requiem for a Love</i> .....	1146
D. F. Wedlake: <i>Bank Shot</i> .....	1173
G. Williams: <i>Walk, Don't Walk</i> .....	1173

# Butterfield: most challenging architect of the Victorian style



Rugby School Chapel (c 1860-70).

Gothic. It is unlikely that we shall truly understand the mastery of Pearson.

Certainly many people have felt challenged, in fact assaulted, by Butterfield's architecture. Dr Thompson has himself had to do a good deal of work exposing and challenging the preponderance of conventional opinion. Jokes about the streaky bacon style and the patent

PAUL THOMPSON:  
William Butterfield  
526pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul.  
£10.

and awful ugliness of Keble still have some currency; and in the higher reaches the words which even now, it seems, come first (and automatically?) to mind are "ugly", "brutal", "coarse", "aggressive".

Sir John Summerson has written of Butterfield's "glory of ugliness", even of his "purposeful sadism"—a "deliberate, systematic, calculated assault on the sensuous qualities latent in the simplest building-forms". Sir Nikolaus Pevsner is a little milder, but to him the interior of All Saints', Margaret Street—that crucial work about which everyone interested in Victorian architecture

## ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

The play of the passions, by Eugene Ionesco ..	1188
Viewpoint: Ian Hamilton ..	1194
Poems by Douglas Dunn and Kevin Crossley-Holland ..	1190, 1198
The Frankfurt Book Fair ..	1197
Novels by Edna O'Brien, David Storey, Aldan Higgins ..	1184, 1185
The sociology of pastoral ..	1186
Gwyn Jones's 'Kings, Beasts and Heroes' ..	1190
The economy under Labour ..	1191
The 'Orlando Furioso' ..	1195
George III: the Hanoverian John Bull ..	1199
Drugs and mysticism ..	1200
Letters on The Rhetoric of Emotion, etc ..	1196

Fiction 1184, 1185, Literature and Criticism 1186, 1190, 1198, Revolution 1187, Archaeology 1189, Politics 1191, 1192, Biography and Memoirs 1193, History 1199, 1201, Religion 1200, Social Studies 1202, Science 1203, Bibliography 1204.

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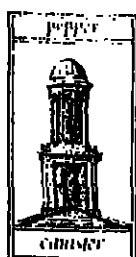
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## Hills

1.

No little people come out of that hill.  
It is a gaunt grey whale,  
Taking light, killing it, offering nothing.

Each spring it is disappointed  
By its own sterility:  
No grass, no life amongst the grass.

What has gone wrong?  
Its head is in the clouds  
Wondering what the magic words are.

2.

Old wives say:  
Stay put where you were born—  
At the foot of a slagheap or in a green valley—  
And you will suffer no harm.

In limb or in liver or lung,  
I seem us sound as any  
And yet I am out of tune  
And come and shout, 'Where are they?'  
Where are they? Where are they?  
My words return  
From the hill.

3.

Those are my hills—  
Beyond the dawn-ash fields,  
The placid dark breathing bulks  
In motionless stances,  
Beyond the clms that stand like sentinels,  
Those are my hills  
With many rooms I entered.

4.

At my feet the map,  
The colours growing light corrects,  
So utterly familiar that I can tell  
Each item added, all that has been lost.

At my head the rise, the ridge, quite patient,  
And all the beeches still night-blurred,  
A bird mutters on a branch.

O

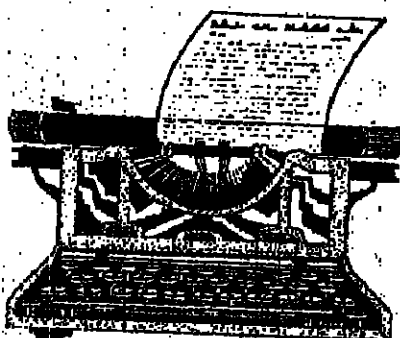
I am growing into the ground again.

KEVIN CROSSLEY-HOLLAND

## Typing

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## Guilt on the gingerbread

BARBARA HARDY:  
*The Exposure of Luxury*  
Radical Themes in Thackeray  
190pp. Peter Owen. £3.25.

Reading *The Exposure of Luxury* is like being taken round a stately home by an incredibly knowledgeable and efficient guide. Only four of the main rooms are at present on view.

*Family Fair, Pandemonium, The Newcomers*, and *Esmond*; but in these four not a table, not a painting—not a soupdish even but has its minute peculiarities expounded to us. The great confrontation between Rawdon and the Marquis of Steyne; Major Pandemonium's appalling row with his man Morgan; Esmond's sudden recognition in the Kensington Tavern of the true nature of Beatrice Castlewood—all these and many other of Thackeray's finest scenes are recalled for us in a manner that greatly enhances our admiration for his psychological profundity. What Barbara Hardy does particularly well is to reveal how, time after time, Thackeray's people suddenly refuse to slot into their little appointed categories, his worms turning and his conventionally-regarded bad boys exhibiting surprising and quite unexpected nobilities. No one who is at all familiar with the novels under discussion can follow these expostulations without coming in the end to a much fuller understanding of Thackeray's giant stature.

There is unfortunately, however, more to the book than this, which is the result not doubt of the uneasy feeling that at times afflicts most authors and tells them that their book requires a Theme. The theme in this case is that which is set forth in the title a title which derives

from the National Gallery Bronzino picture which Thackeray decorates the jacket, which in the old days of Walford used simply to be called "Allegory", and which, even under its new name, rather fails to render *luxure* or *luxuria* an adequate equivalent to the sort of luxury Professor Hardy has in mind: jewels, splendid furnishings, rich repasts. Indeed, except for some nudity and a little raw fruit, there is nothing of that kind in the picture. To the wrenching out of its true context of this admirable painting there are then ponderously added sundry reflections from Thorstein Veblen's elderly polemic, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, the central doctrine of which is that the "conspicuous consumption of valuable goods is a means of reputation to the gentleman of leisure" or, putting the thing more simply, that if you have plenty of money you will take care to get the best and not the inferior article, and that you will like a lot of it.

From such extraneous concepts as these Professor Hardy has woven her theme, to the effect that Thackeray's undoubted brilliance in the rendering of surface appearances, and his liking for describing parties, were, in some way, immensely relevant to his satiric purpose. But surely almost every nineteenth-century novelist from Balzac to Stendhal to Zola was similarly fascinated by the externals of their own over-furnished, over-upholstered time; and what more natural than that Thackeray, the inveterate diner out, the hardened over-eater, should frequently chronicle gastronomic occasions? Far more to the point than this suggestion of a subconscious puritanism would seem to be the passage that is here quoted from

one of his letters: "God I see (it that may be) a warped looking-glass in always looking my own and wickednesses looking."

There, rather, was the hope, never before or since, and to dust away the ancient fables of malice and myth by which the personality of the King has been obscured. Whether he will satisfy all his machinations, for we will be those who share with Eliot "an occasional tenderness for old abuses" and indeed for the traditions of political history, even those inclined to disagree with the book will recognize its sincerity and resource in argument on which it rests. Mr Brooke's literary achievement is to satisfy readers by driving his narrative into the corners of the story which in biography are too often to the imagination or (perhaps) to the ignorance of the reader. His book tells us the details of the King's life—when he got up, went to what he had for breakfast and even whether he shaved himself—details which, as he says, enable us to understand human beings. John Clarke's book on *The Life and Times of George III*—this is a beautifully reproduced and carefully chosen—short, and biography. Mr Clarke will take exception to the contrast between Mr Brooke, who has written an important book calculated to please a scholar and general reader, and the distinguished and useful preface with which the Professor Hardy indeed a better in the original nineteenth-century typography could present-day print.

All the reserved power, the couple of sentences, and a good reason to be given for the exception to the contrast between Mr Brooke, who has written an important book calculated to please a scholar and general reader, and the distinguished and useful preface with which the Professor Hardy indeed a better in the original nineteenth-century typography could present-day print.

The fables of royalty have always a sparkling page for the reader, but the sparkle tends to be on the good side of a man's life. To understand the ordinary existence of a royal person, Mr Brooke, who has written an important book calculated to please a scholar and general reader, and the distinguished and useful preface with which the Professor Hardy indeed a better in the original nineteenth-century typography could present-day print.

altruistic individualism; one James's successful efforts to share with the Queen a modern sensibility, shared with the Queen in innocent fancy for seeing these crucial passages are praised for having "a last word snapped at her: 'You have the novel to save me from my house to see his new chairs'".

Mr Brooke's book is a last word snapped at her: "You have the novel to save me from my house to see his new chairs". Mr Brooke's book is a last word snapped at her: "You have the novel to save me from my house to see his new chairs". Mr Brooke's book is a last word snapped at her: "You have the novel to save me from my house to see his new chairs".

This truce is a last word snapped at her: "You have the novel to save me from my house to see his new chairs". Mr Brooke's book is a last word snapped at her: "You have the novel to save me from my house to see his new chairs". Mr Brooke's book is a last word snapped at her: "You have the novel to save me from my house to see his new chairs".

## John Bull in the House of Hanover

JOHN BROOKE:  
*King George III*  
411pp. Constable. £3.95.

JOHN CLARKE:  
*The Life and Times of George III*  
223pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £2.65.

near relation of George I once said, "How like the English to come between father and son." And she meant by this that the English obtruded their political squabbles into family relationships. Yet generally when the father's day was over, the son ceased to be a man of the Opposition. George II and George IV are both in point here. Only George III carried the warfare beyond the grave.

Here there is an interesting point in the King's celebrated remark about glorying in the name of Britain. (Although the word has passed into history as "Briton", and in the following passage that mistake is maintained. Mr Brooke is clearly right that the King spoke of the country, not the inmates.) The words were inserted into the speech "by command". In the Lords Address in reply, Lord Hardwicke inserted this: "What a lustre doth it cast upon the name Briton when you, Sir, are pleased to esteem it among your glories." This was all very well, but what of George II, who had provided the glories without the Briton? Surely any young man would have seen that parading himself as a "Britisher" when his "foreign" grandfather had just died was a pointed insult? As if conscious of this the Lords in their reply referred to George II in glowing terms, especially emphasizing his care of our laws and liberties, "which will render his name glorious to all posterity".

The explanation for George III's barb at the old King could lie in the influence of his mother, but it might have derived from that stubbornness and lack of statesmanlike flexibility which his critics have detected in the King. George III was as fierce and brave as his grandfather at the Battle of Dettingen in his warfare with the politicians; but this was a battle which did not call for those qualities but rather for manoeuvre. That skill the King completely lacked. And unluckily Bute comes into the picture here. As Romney Sedgwick told us long ago, the letters between the King and Bute show that this strange Scotch lord was the target not for the mother's affections but for those of the son. Bute's attainments were mediocre, and he was disliked by the public as a Scotchman, but that was the one fault which he could not correct. We can deduce from what Mr Brooke says that he was a man of honour, honesty and good intentions. These were also the virtues of the King, and it was unlucky that the immense influence of "my dearest friend" enlarged and strengthened those virtues till they prevented the growth of other qualities important in a King. For, as Mr Brooke shrewdly says, "Bute had little more understanding of statecraft than the boy whom he undertook to teach".

We are inclined to wince when he goes on to tell us that Bute's proper place would have been in an Oxford common-room. Some of us may feel a trifle sorry for those admirable centres of good cheer when we remember that Bute was described by a contemporary as "too cold and silent to be amiable".

So far as George III was concerned, Bute was a disaster. An anecdote reveals this. Early in the reign the Duke of Devonshire said to Bute that so long as the Seven Years War lasted, the King would be obliged to come to an understanding with Pitt. Bute warned the Duke

not to let the King hear such language because "he would not bear it for a moment". "Not bear it?" replied the Duke. "He must bear it. Every King must make use of human means to attain human ends or his affairs will go to ruin." A king, said Lord Hardwicke once said, should always "tend and ply a little".

There, conspicuously, lay the weakness of the King; he and Bute were the saints in the stained glass window gazing, with a little more scorn than is usually seen on the countenances of those holy persons, at the congregation of sinners kneeling before them. Unhappily the government had to be taken from the congregation, not from the window. When one of the Saints (Bute) had to retire to Harrogate, in search of a cure for the worms, the other wrote to the King, "I care not a farthing for them. They are grasping, greedy and ungrateful... mean in their manner of thinking." He told another friend that he would rather see the Devil in his closet than George Grenville.

We cannot say that Bute's influence was more fortunate in the King's private life. George II wished him to marry the Princess Sophia of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel; the very name was enough to repel him who did not want him as his Minister. His remark that only one of his children lacked courage was monstrous, because he identified him without naming him—"he is to succeed me". Perhaps it would have been all right to say that within the private circle of the Royal Family, but to say it outside was culpable. When he tried to persuade Lord Hardwicke's son to follow his father on the Woolsack and become Lord Chancellor, he told him that if he refused, he would never have the offer again and "if you will not comply it must make an eternal breach between us".

Nor was his treatment of Lord North, who had served him with dogged faithfulness, pleasant. The fallen Minister had incurred a debt of some £30,000 for election expenses. He had no money and the King had to pay, but he said to the banker when he sent the money that it was owing to the "most barefaced fraud" on the part of Lord North. One of the virtues of Mr Brooke is that he does not attempt to hide these and other examples of the King's fickleness. Individually they can be explained and even

Sarah's picture of the King as lover is amusing and has the ring of truth. He asked a great many questions about her relations (not Fox) and wanted to know whether the husband or the wife "governed". He went on to say that he had no notion of women governing men; she shrewdly added that was a sure sign that he was governed. Proof of this was shortly forthcoming. On June 18, 1761 Lady Sarah went to court with her sister, Lady Kildare, and the King said to her loud enough to be overheard: "For God's sake remember what I said and believe that I have the strongest attachment."

In fact his marriage with Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz was arranged when those tender words were spoken. It is kindest to say that these were the sighs of a lover; chieftaincy lay elsewhere for one who was governed. This was the last occasion when our Royal Family could have broken the iron rule, which was to cause such infinite misery to George III's children and to later generations of the family, that members of the English Royal Family could only marry "while" princes or princesses from Protestant Germany. And might we not argue that this alarm at the prospect of being "governed" had its influence on his mind when he fell under the sway of Queen Charlotte?

There are other episodes in the life of the King which must also make the reader uneasy. After all that he owed to Bute, he never saw him after 1766, regretted his influence, and persuaded himself that he did not want him as his Minister. His remark that only one of his children lacked courage was monstrous, because he identified him without naming him—"he is to succeed me". Perhaps it would have been all right to say that within the private circle of the Royal Family, but to say it outside was culpable. When he tried to persuade Lord Hardwicke's son to follow his father on the Woolsack and become Lord Chancellor, he told him that if he refused, he would never have the offer again and "if you will not comply it must make an eternal breach between us".

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excused, but taken collectively they go some way towards justifying Lord Holland's remark that "he was too a stranger to every generous affection which renders a prince either amiable or benevolent".

Both these books bring out very clearly the conservative cast of the King's mind. Even in youth he was writing to Bute: "I rather incline too much to the John Bull and am apt to despise what I am not accustomed to." More than that he saw the Crown, as he grew older, playing a role which was essentially conservative; change was to come from Parliament and the King was to be the brake. This was a congenial, natural role. We can see this by a conversation of the King's with a Cambridge ecclesiastic at a levee. The King asked whether the university was flourishing, and then what noblemen were resident, adding: "I could wish everyone of that rank had as good principles instilled into them as the Earl of Westmorland." This was a peculiarly unwise remark—or unwise judged by the impartiality which we expect in the twentieth century from royal conversations—because Fox had sharply criticized the ecclesiastic for bringing up the Earl in Tory principles.

Mr Clarke makes the interesting point that with the French Revolution there came a change in the King's mind from realistic conservatism to bigoted reaction. He came to believe that any concessions to progress must lead to anarchy, and Mr Clarke adds that it is a pity this picture has been accepted as the "true" George III. Yet if we carefully study the King's conversation with George Rose, who was a house-tongued Tory placeman, we can see how astonishingly unwise it was and encourages us to believe that his tongue and indeed behaviour were not always under the control of his mind.

Possibly the most heart-rending side to the King's insanity—whether this affliction sprang from the mind itself or the body was, in its consequences, immaterial—was not the pitiful figure striking a few notes on the harpsichord but Queen Charlotte and her family who, for years before the final seclusion, had to endure the misery of never exactly knowing what the King might say or do next. One of the Duchesses in Hanover, who had married into a family of mental instability, once said: "I am sure that no one could be more tiresome and eccentric than my husband and he has not even the excuse of being a king." Queen Charlotte would never have made a rather flippant remark of this character but it is often forgotten—and perhaps neither of these books brings out the point sufficiently sharply—that what may be just bearable in a private station (or just manageable) is intolerable in a public one. Indeed we can say with confidence that the King's mind, firmly set as it was in resistance to change, was provoked into indiscretion, occasional folly and possibly even to frenzy by his public position.

During the Second World War a celebrated book was published called *Gully Men*; this led to a riposte by certain 'Members' of Parliament called *We Were Not All Wrong*. And as history digs deeper into the character of the King and the politicians we begin to wonder whether the older point of view was quite so wrong as we have been brought up to believe. Certainly the politicians were no Gladstones, but were they quite the dragons of evil which they seemed to St George of Britain?

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Mr. Frank Todd



# Getting high and getting holy

R. C. ZAEHNER:  
*Drugs, Mysticism and Make-Believe*  
233pp. Collins, £1.90.

Since lysergic acid diethylamide was accidentally ingested by Hoffman in the 1940s, its use has gone through four stages. The first, which attracted surprisingly little publicity, lasted from about 1950 to 1968, and was the stage of psychedelic therapy. It was in 1957 that the word "psychedelic" was first used, by a British psychiatrist Humphrey Osmond, to describe chemical agents which expanded the mind and enlarged the vision. From the early 1950s LSD was used in this country as an aid to psychotherapy, and a recent study by Nicholas Maltison has suggested that up to 1968 some 5,000 patients and experimental subjects received LSD under medical control in Britain, a total of some 50,000 therapeutic "trips".

There were relatively few casualties in this period, but the drug gradually fell into disuse, except among a small group of psychiatrists, largely because the early extravagant claims—"the royal road to the unconscious"—and so on—were abandoned. LSD is not generally believed now to be a very useful therapeutic tool. The second stage overlapped with the first one, and was the stage of Timothy Leary's psychedelic religion. Dr Leary was responsible for setting LSD firmly within the framework of a religious movement, as a sacramental substance of the new age. His work at Harvard in the early 1960s led to his dismissal; and in 1964 *The Psychedelic Experience*, an adaptation of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, made him known throughout the West.

The third stage began with the Haight-Ashbury explosion in the summer of 1967 when, for the first time, LSD became central to a mass cultural movement with the advent of the San Francisco sound and the growth of the hippy scene. The final stage began around 1969 when LSD spread from the restricted world of the freaks and bohemians into the world of urban working-class youth, into schools, down the socio-economic scale, and into hitherto unaffected areas. We are still in this stage.

But from about 1967 there has been another discernible and increasing trend: the movement away from

drugs towards non-chemical approaches to consciousness, towards experiential religions, and especially towards Eastern mysticism. The link between LSD and Eastern mysticism was manifest certainly by 1963, but earlier writers such as Aldous Huxley had discussed "the chemical conditions of transcendence" in relation to a similar agent, mescaline. It was at this point that R. C. Zaehner entered the arena, and in his *Mysticism Sacred and Profane* (1961), he said that if Huxley was right in the belief that the mescaline experience was "closely comparable to a genuine mystical experience... the conclusions are alarming".

Professor Zaehner is more cautious in *Drugs, Mysticism and Make-Believe*. He seems less alarmed than he was eleven years ago about the chemical religious claims, as such, for he now writes:

I do not question that LSD can produce an almost unlimited expansion of consciousness and that this may add a totally new, awesome, and numerous aspect to life; nor do I question that LSD can deepen religious experience if it is already there, or even arouse a religious experience, if the desire to have done with self and all selfishness is there; nor does it seem wrong to me to use LSD or other psychedelic drugs as aids to meditation or even as substitutes for meditation.

However, he does insist that LSD experiences should take place only under the guidance of one who is both holy and sane, and who has experienced both religious contemplation and psychedelic drugs. This is very similar to the view of Professor Zaehner's old enemy Alan Watts ("with whom I am rarely in agreement", as he said in 1970 in his *Confucianism*), who in *The Way of Zen* (1957) had argued for LSD trips in special retreat houses under the guidance of such spiritual teachers. However, Professor Zaehner adds: "Of course practically no one has these four qualifications since 'holy' men... will have no part in such goings on!"

Professor Zaehner has now directed his fire away from Huxley and towards Timothy Leary. He had already attacked Dr Leary's views in a series of talks on the BBC in 1970, on which the present volume is in fact based, and in a short article in *The Times*. Unfortunately not only does he seem to be unacquainted with the growth of the psychedelic drug culture since Dr Leary, but he

also appears to have read only one of Dr Leary's works, his popular paperback *The Politics of Ecstasy* (1970) from which he quotes at length. The only other sources for his views on LSD and mysticism appear to be the two well-known volumes, *LSD, Man and Society* (edited by R. C. DeBolt and R. C. Leary, 1969) and *The Varieties of Psychedelic Experience* (R. F. L. Masters and Jean Houston, 1967). The acquaintance with the Eastern religious literature, on the other hand, is immense, and it is a pity therefore that his reading in the fields of psychedelic and post-psychedelic youth spirituality has not been wider. The exaggerated stress on Dr Leary, a mistake made also by Theodore Roszak in *The Making of a Counter-Culture*, is unfortunate, for while Dr Leary is of great importance in the history of LSD, he is an extremist and his views are now regarded as rather bizarre. Indeed, he seems to get much of his support from Switzerland, which, ironically, is where the drug was discovered and originally marketed. But a great deal has occurred in the LSD scene since Dr Leary, at which Professor Zaehner seems unaware.

However, within these limitations, Professor Zaehner has provided a perceptive and witty examination of the claim that "the LSD experience" is comparable to "the mystical state". He rightly rejects such naive terms: there are as many varieties of LSD experience as there are mystical traditions. He is scornful of Dr Leary's claim that "the aim of all eastern religion, like the aim of LSD, is basically to get high; that is, to expand your consciousness and find ecstasy and revelation within". On the contrary, he shows that the Buddhist and Hindu, abounding in warnings against the search for "expansion" and ecstasy. The *Upanishads* warned against ascetical excesses, as did Buddhism:

Yoga is not for him who eats too much (says the Gita), nor yet for him who does not eat at all, nor for him who is all too prone to sleep, nor yet for him who always stays awake. Rather, Yoga is for him who is moderate in food and recreation, controlled in his deeds and gestures, moderate in sleeping as in waking.

The emphasis is on sobriety and control rather than on "getting high". Again, an ancient Zen saying has it that to become attached to one's own enlightenment is a sick-

ness. The Sufis warn: "Be chary of expansion and beware of it." In the Christian tradition, St John of the Cross sees the quest for better and better religious experiences ("getting high on Jesus") as a positive impediment to spiritual growth. The mystical literature of East and West is full of warnings against false enlightenment which is in fact ego-inflation. Professor Zaehner quotes Jung's description of inflation:

The personality becomes so vastly enlarged that the normal ego-personality is almost extinguished. In other words, if the individual identifies himself with the contents awaiting integration, a positive or negative inflation results. Positive inflation comes very near to a more or less conscious megalomania; negative inflation is felt as an annihilation of the ego.

Jung wisely saw that the process of integration was all-important, and that individuals were often incapable of integrating material from the LSD experience into conscious life. So, in the words of Dr Leary's ex-disciple Allan Cohen, they "have gotten lost in inner space and 'flipped out', perhaps, never to return a whole person".

Professor Zaehner also turns his attention to the oft-quoted research of the late Walter Pahnke, whose Harvard doctoral thesis on drugs and mysticism may one day appear in print. While he concedes that there are parallels between some aspects of religious mysticism, especially some Hindu varieties, and some LSD experiences, especially cosmic consciousness and the sense of "oneness", he finds such parallels disappointing and unimpressive. The experience of Pahnke's God or the God of the *Upanishads* who transcends eternal being itself has not come to light. Nor is he much impressed by the naive way in which acid gurus refer to "cosmic consciousness" and "Nirvana" or "instant Zen". In describing the LSD experience, as Professor Zaehner points out, Nirvana is "the exact reverse of cosmic consciousness". Some perceptions do not exist in Nirvana which is far beyond a self above the cosmos. At least Dr Leary realizes this and says that he is more Hindu than Buddhist. But, when all the discussion about chemical and non-chemical experiences is over, what have these experiences to do with the life of the Spirit, with love, joy, peace or humility?

Professor Zaehner objects, although there is a whole lot of sought ecstasy by mystics, but he "expanded", they were not successful in terms of space.

The hallucinations of St Augustine in a series of studies of cultural history edited by John Hale. It is concerned not only with the city of Venice but with her empire on mainland as well, in particular with the Venetian Republic, and also what historians like to call "the myth of the city".

There is a lot of trouble about here which seems to be a somewhat unbalanced view of the city. The title-page suggests that the period to be covered is 1470-1630, but the first ten chapters all go around 1630, and the last ten go around 1630. The book is divided into a final chapter of less than twenty-five pages. Thus the book is divided into a final chapter of less than twenty-five pages. Thus the book is divided into a final chapter of less than twenty-five pages.

Secondly, Professor Zaehner nothing at all about the spiritual scene, apart from references to the Jesus mystic. Yet it is what has happened in the psychedelic culture which is of fundamental importance for the directors and disciples in the psychedelic quest has been a quest for the divine, for the Spirit. If Professor Zaehner could acquaint himself more fully with the spiritual currents of contemporary youth, he could be an invaluable contributor to the dialogue between traditional spirituality and the new youth culture.

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HISTORY

## The example of Venice

LOGAN:  
*Culture and Society in Venice 1470-1630*  
296pp. 26 plates. Batsford, £4.50.

nothing to say about Galileo and his Venetian friends. The strengths of the book are in its discussion of religion and of art patronage. Dr Logan, whose thesis was concerned with the Venetian clergy, writes with knowledge and sympathy about the Catholic Reformation in this region, and in particular about the bishop of Verona, Agostino Valier, who was a follower of S. Carlo Borromeo. He has collected a good deal of information about art patronage between 1520 and 1630, which will be particularly useful for students of the later sixteenth century.

The most fundamental weakness of the book is that it does not do enough to relate Venetian society, as described in the first two chapters, to Venetian culture. The chapter on literature, for example, is largely a study of four writers—Pietro Bembo, *Il Rucante*, Paolo Sarpi, and Niccolò Contarini and devotes most of its space to summarizing some of their best-known works.

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## Infallibly malleable

BRIAN TIERNY:  
*Origins of Papal Infallibility, 1150-1350*  
298pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 72fl.

The starting-point of Brian Tierney's book is an apparent paradox: the doctrine of infallibility weakens papal authority, because it implies the infallibility of the Pope's predecessors, and its earliest defenders were men who wished to limit the Pope's power. Professor Tierney convincingly links the development of the theological notion of papal infallibility with the high claims put forward by Franciscans for their Order as a new revelation or new tradition. Hence Pietro Olivi's claim that papal decrees in support of the Franciscan way of life were irrefragable for all time and the later evolu-

tion (in the "Sachsenhausen excursus" of 1324) of the idea that the Pope was personally infallible when using the "key of knowledge" to define truths of faith and morals. The Franciscans wished to show that John XXII (1316-34) could not go back on the approval given in Nicholas III's *Exiit qui seminat* (1279) to the paradoxical situation reached by the attribution of infallibility to Nicholas as a "pestiferous" doctrine.

Professor Tierney argues his case with clarity and learning, showing the tempestuous consequences for theology of developments in Franciscan history; the idea of infallibility, he claims, "was invented almost fortuitously because an unusual concatenation of circumstances arose that made such a doctrine useful to a particular group of controversialists". In presenting what Lovejoy

called "a study of the history of an idea", Professor Tierney realizes fully that this is bound to be a study of malleability, since the idea will mean quite different things in different historical circumstances. Hence the connexion with the contemporary debate on papal infallibility is in some ways a thin one. In a well-argued and absorbing conclusion, however, the author makes it clear that he thinks Catholicism would be better off without the doctrine of infallibility; its supporters, he maintains, have been people with a weak sense of history. For medievalists the theme of this book has less general interest than the same author's *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory*, but it is an admirable addition to the series of "Studies in the History of Christian Thought". It contains, properly, some reminders of human fallibility in the form of misprints.

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